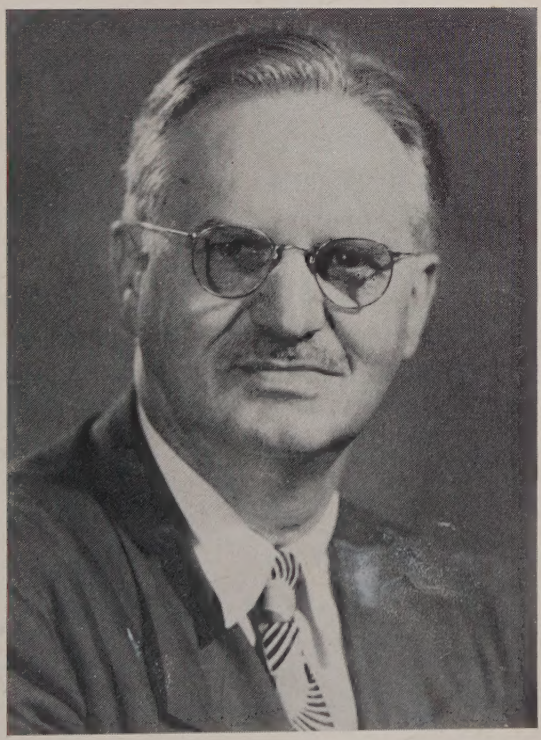
June 1955

Fellowship



PAUL SCHILPP *Poet*

30¢

Espelkamp And Geneva

by A. J. Muste

contents

- **The World in Focus** 1
- **Espelkamp and Geneva**—A. J. Muste 5
  A. J. talks about a new and vivid chapter in the history of the German church
- **The Other Way**—a penetrating story which appeared in the FOR's first magazine in 1915 reveals a message that is timeless 10
- **Preserve Those Liberties!**—Eleanor Middleton 17
  A visit to the Workers Defense League, an organization whose aims are measured by the Bill of Rights
- **The Oldest Minority**—Curtis Zahn 21
  An intimate glimpse of the decline and fall of an old culture
- **News** 26
- **Letters** 31

COVER PHOTO: Paul Arthur Schilpp, professor of philosophy at Northwestern University, editor of the monumental Library of Living Philosophers, member of FOR since 1939. Prof. Schilpp's free-verse cantata, "Why Seek Ye the Living among the Dead?" was presented by the Cathedral Singers and soloists at Garrett Biblical Institute in April.

FELLOWSHIP

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Member, Associated Church Press

FELLOWSHIP *is published monthly except August. Re-entered as second-class matter July 1, 1947, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879; additional entry at Lebanon, Pa.*

Fellowship Published by the **Fellowship of Reconciliation**
21 Audubon Ave., New York 32, N. Y.

JOHN M. SWOMLEY, JR. Secretary — A. J. MUSTE Secretary-Emeritus

30 Cents a Copy
$3 a year

Fellowship
The WORLD in FOCUS

VOLUME 21, NUMBER 6 ■ JUNE 1955

Drill

June 15 has been set aside for the first nationwide civil defense exercise, with the public expected to join CD personnel in practicing what to do in case of an air raid with atomic weapons. Because we always like to be helpful in things like this, and because we know our readers will wish to be equipped with all available information, we summarize here some of the latest data available.

Shelters. Top CD authorities agree that the H-bomb has made shelters obsolete, since the force of the explosion would crush them for miles around. Don't worry too much about this, but do take a few simple precautions, since various holes in the ground are still identified by signs saying "Shelter," and some warden might shoo you into one. Buy or borrow three or four stout wooden two-by-fours at least eight feet long and carry these with you all the time. If you find yourself herded into a shelter, brace these timbers firmly against the wall nearest where you expect the bomb to drop, and crouch beneath them. (A large sheet of heavy-gauge steel laid over the timbers would give even more security, but is somewhat awkward to carry.) Persons unable to locate two-by-fours, or too lazy to carry them around, should at least have a number of sturdy broomsticks on hand.

Evacuation. A good many main roads leading out of cities

still have signs reading "In case of enemy attack, this road will be closed to all but civil defense and military traffic." Do not be confused by such signs if you are ordered to get out of town in the face of enemy attack. They were supposed to have been taken down long ago, but there is a shortage of screwdrivers in the civil defense organization and they haven't got round to it yet. The way it is now, all roads are *open* to all but civil defense etc., traffic. They *want* you to get out.

In case you are part of an evacuation drill, be sure to have a stopwatch with you. Find out before you leave your home or office what the warning period is. (It may be five minutes, ten minutes, or even as much as an hour, unless the attack is coming by "intercontinental ballistics missile," in which case it will be about twenty seconds.) When the time is just about up, cover your head with a sheet of clean white paper. This will keep your hair from being mussed by the blast.

If you live or work near the center of the city, you will be expected to walk a half-mile or so to a "loading perimeter," where all available vehicles whose drivers haven't got panicky will be waiting to carry you out to safety. Two words of caution are important here:

First, if you happen to have your own car downtown with you, *don't attempt to use it to escape, even if it goes faster than your best walking gait.* (Heel-and-toe walking will be permitted if you don't step on the heels of the person ahead.) However, you may check to see whether you need to put another nickel in the parking meter before you leave.

Second, if when you arrive at the loading perimeter you discover that there is not likely to be adequate room for all who wish to board the escape vehicles, do not allow the emergency to make you forget to be a gentleman. Stand courteously aside and wait until women, children, and government personnel have been comfortably seated. If there is then no room remaining (in some cities all the vehicles that could be mustered could hold only one-fifth the people involved), remember to tip your hat as they drive away. You

may then feel it a good idea to go back and put another nickel in the parking meter, though this is not essential.

Defense. All major cities are being equipped with a ring of Nike guided-missile anti-aircraft batteries about twenty miles out, which it is hoped will shoot down as many as eight out of ten raiding planes. Since pieces of these missiles may be dropping around you, it would be a good idea to add to your equipment a stout umbrella, preferably made of nylon. This will protect you until the remaining planes arrive.

First Aid. Even if you are not a warden, you should carry a first-aid kit with you all the time. The well-equipped H-bomb kit will contain at least the following essentials: band-aids, large and small sizes (get the nice plastic ones if you can); sun-glasses (to shield your eyes from the glare of the explosion); scissors; a bottle of clean, uncontaminated water (in case you get thirsty while putting band-aids on people); four cans of baked beans wrapped in lead foil; a small bottle of iodine (or mercurochrome if you think iodine stings too much); a large jar of vaseline (for burns).

Identification. Official identification tags, made of metal, are being made available through some milk company. If you are on good terms with your milkman, see if he can get one for you. Each tag has a number on it, and anyone finding you or the tag afterward can examine the central file and find out who you were. This may come in handy.

Worth Filing

"The U.S. *Has* a Defense against Atomic Attack."

—Title of an article in *Look*, May 3, 1955.

"Where do we stand today? Have we made progress?

"In an age when new electronic devices spring into being before technicians have learned to use the old ones, when both the U.S. and Russia work feverishly toward 'IBM' (inter-continental ballistics missiles) missiles that could leap the oceans, there is no easy answer. These awesome weapons would make today's defense system obsolete overnight."

—From the same article.

Vital Mission

"The chaplain is not some effete busybody or do-gooder, nor is he a religious recluse who sits in an ivory tower. He is a virile, fully trained specialist who has a vital military mission to perform, and who, given the opportunity to perform his work with proper command support, will be a valuable member of the military team.

"He can serve the commander in the important area of morale and morals in a way no other officer can. Experience in the past war showed that morale was as important an item for combat as the gun which the soldier carried. The commander must realize the importance of morale, and he must also realize he can look to the chaplain for leadership in this field.

"The great majority of chaplains in the Army are seasoned veterans of World War II and the Korean Campaign. They are well versed in the difficulties and temptations that confront the soldier. The objectives of the chaplain are the same as those of other officers—to produce a better soldier."

—Major General Patrick J. Ryan, Chief of Army Chaplains, in an address to student officers, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, March, 1955.

• • •

"With entire consistency, therefore, we can simultaneously support immediate rearmament and work for general and permanent disarmament. On this point clarity of thought is all-important."

—From "Essentials for Genuine Peace" by Grenville Clark

It is?

ESPELKAMP AND GENEVA

by A. J. Muste

ESPELKAMP is the name of a small town in the Ruhr where the General Synod of the Evangelical Church of Germany met a month or two ago. Geneva, Switzerland, is the headquarters of the World Council of Churches. As these names suggest, this report on some aspects of the month I spent in Western Europe recently will deal largely with developments in church life in that part of the world in which the Fellowship is playing a rather significant part. And this will be on the cheerful side!

Just before sitting down to write these observations, I read an article in *The Reporter* of April 21, 1955, on plans for the army which will be reorganized in Germany if American pressure and other factors finally result in rearmament. That it will come is now likely, but not yet certain. The author, Charles W. Thayer, long a senior diplomatic official in Germany and the Soviet Union, refers to the conscription law planned after an initial permanent cadre of 125,000 volunteers is provided. He observes that all eligibles will be drafted to meet manpower requirements. "The only exceptions will be conscientious objectors, whose rights are protected by German Basic Law. In interpreting this right the Germans plan to follow the British practice of requiring an objector

to prove his *bona fides* by citing religious and other reasons. . . ."

This point that Germany may follow the British rather than the American example by defining conscientious objection on other than narrowly defined religious grounds is an interesting confirmation of the impression Clifford Macquire, British FOR; Andre Trocme, French FOR; Siegmund-Schultze; and I received in our two hour interview with the deputy minister to Theodor Blank, Security Commissioner charged with drafting legislation in this field for Western Germany.

EKID Meeting

That same week the General Synod, governing body of the entire Evangelical Church in Germany (German initials EKID) and bulwark of Protestantism in East and West Germany because it includes both Lutheran and Reformed churches, was meeting in Espelkamp, a small hill town in the Ruhr. The Synod unanimously voted support of the right of conscientious objectors — both for church youth and for youth objecting to participation in any war on other than religious grounds. Moreover, it voted to ask the East German regime to make a similar provision for COs in any draft law it may enact, a courageous step in view of that regime's renewed efforts to attach all youth to the Communist movement and its resentment of church opposition to its laws. The Synod designated a representative committee of prominent churchmen to represent COs in dealings with Bonn, a more advanced position than that taken by the British National Council of Churches and the National Council of Churches here.

Most readers here are aware that up to the eve of World War II German Protestants (especially Lutherans) tended to draw a heavy line between the church and the state, holding that the church should not concern itself with social and political matters. The idea that church youth, or others, should take a CO stand and "defy the constituted authorities" was anathema. It was foreign to German and Continental, as distinct from Anglo-Saxon, mentality. It is not exaggeration to say now that a revolution has taken place. The entire leadership of the German Evangelical Church now says that the Church has a social and political mission. Christian youth should regard participation in war as an issue of conscience—not something which the State automatically decides for the individual.

New Currents

At this writing it is almost one year since Martin Niemoller sent his enrollment in the German FOR to F. Siegmund-Schultze, the German social worker and chaplain to Kaiser Wilhelm I, who founded the German organization during World War I when Niemoller was a submarine commander. Probably the most widely read piece of pacifist literature in this country at the moment is the address Niemoller made at a meeting of the Church Peace Mission in Evanston last August during the Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches. Niemoller declared himself a "pacifist in principle" and set forth reasons, both political and Scriptural, why he had finally taken this step.

I spent a Sunday evening with him and Mrs. Niemoller at their home in Wiesbaden and I am happy to announce that they will come to the U.S. November 8 to December 9, to speak for the Fellowship.[1]

The Niemoller case is not an isolated one. Pacifism is no longer taboo in German church circles. Influential Protestant thinkers have become pacifists or are moving in that direction. It seems fitting that the two men chiefly responsible for this change should be a German and a Frenchman!

Siegmund-Schultze, whose convictions led to his exile by Hitler for more than a decade and virtual exile by and from leading church circles, is now a recognized and influential figure again in church as well as academic and political circles. The other is Andre Trocme, a man whose reconciling spirit, penetrating political analysis and original theological thinking have made a deep impression in Germany.

Drive Against Pacifists

I do not want to give the impression that German Protestantism has gone pacifist or that pacifists and near pacifists constitute anywhere near a majority in the leadership, but they can no longer be disregarded. In Berlin, a couple of days before the Synod convened, we were told that a drive against pacifists and others still militantly resisting rearmament, would probably be made. Bishop Dibelius and others, it was indicated, felt that a less radical attitude should now be taken. According to one rumor, Martin Niemoller would be compelled to choose between his membership on the powerful twelve-man General Council of EKID and his post as representative of the Church in matters relating to international affairs. The German papers played up the fact that at one of the early sessions a candidate was put up against Dr. Eustav Heinemann in the election for chairman of the General Council. (Heinemann was Minister of Interior in the Adenauer cabinet and resigned several years ago when the Chancellor first committed himself to rearmament).

Wrong Conclusion

From this, we concluded that, steps would be taken against the more radical anti-militarists. We were wrong. Martin Niemoller was re-elected to the Council. There was no mention of his relinquishing his other post. Although Heinemann lost the chairmanship by a narrow margin, he was promptly elected as a member of the General Council. In that capacity he is somewhat freer to advance his views than when serving as chairman. In addition, two other members of the German FOR, Bishops Wilm and Held, were elected to the Council!

Let me cite one more evidence of this trend. At a Geneva meeting of the European Continuation Committee of the Historic Peace Churches and IFOR, it was decided to try to hold a 1955 summer conference of 20 to 30 theologians, mainly from Western Europe, who are pacifists or are seriously concerned about a fresh study of the problem of the Christian and war.

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[1] Those interested in arranging engagements for either or both Niemollers should write the FOR office as soon as possible. Copies of the Niemoller address, *The Way of Peace*, which appeared in the November FELLOWSHIP are also available. Price 5c each; 50 for $1.00.

When two of us returned to Germany to explore the likelihood of a representative attendance from Germany, our consultants assured us that, in addition to well known FOR members, there were one or more people on the theological faculty of practically every leading university who would be interested, such as Beckman of Dusseldorf; Frey of Tubingen; Vogel of Berlin; Ernst Wolf of Gottingen; Helmut Gollwitzer of Bonn and a number of others. Gollwitzer is the author of *Unwilling Journey*, a magnificent report and evaluation of his experience as a prisoner of war in Russia. He does not call himself a pacifist, but does say that recent developments make the old concept of "just war" sheerly irrelevant. He is in the forefront of those church and trade union people who continue to oppose rearmament. Also in the pacifist ranks are two of the most influential editors of religious publications in Germany—Mochalski of Die Stimmeder Gemeinde, the organ of those who in the Hitler days constituted the Confessional Church; and Heinze Kloppenburg, co-editor of Die Junge Gemeinde, organ of the youth organization of the Evangelical Church.

The World Council And the H-Bomb

Some comment must be made now on a development which is particularly heartening since it has to do with the ecumenical Christian movement and the World Council of Churches.

As many readers know, the founding Assembly of the World Council at Amsterdam in 1948 said Christians held three positions regarding war: wars have been "just" in the past but no modern war can be; force is needed as a sanction for law and it is a Christian's duty, as a citizen (if not as a Christian) to defend his country in war; the pacifist position. The churchmen at Amsterdam called "deplorable" this fact that Christians could speak with such diverse tongues and asked theologians to work on the problem.

Study Not "Feasible"

Six years later the Evanston Assembly convened. The H-bomb had made its appearance but the World Council had not studied "the dilemma of Amsterdam." The Committee of the Churches on International Relations said an effective discussion of the H-bomb problem was not feasible at Evanston since the necessary preliminary study of the underlying theological problems had not been made. Yet in those years political and military leaders had not put off their decisions and experiments pending theological studies!

Finally, at the initiative of the Bishop of Chichester, who is not a pacifist, the Executive Committee of the World Council in February instructed the Division of Studies to draw up plans for a study by a representative commission of Christian theologians of the problem raised by nuclear war. The Division must submit its proposals to the Central Committee at its July meeting in Geneva. Several members of the WCC's Division of Studies, including Robert Bilheimer, recently appointed associate secretary of the WCC, met with the IFOR team for several hours at the request of General Secretary Visser 't Hooft. They reported that the proposed study is to consider

whether nuclear war presents a "new dimension" for the Christian conscience in the light of the "quality of life" which is appropriate and required of Christians as "the people of God." At the meeting, some doubts were expressed. Would the study do what was needed if it dealt with nuclear war rather than war itself? One answer suggested that since the study was considering the Church as "the people of God" and the "quality of life" required of them, this might lead to the Church and Christians speaking in one clear voice against nuclear war—a step which might lead to others.

The deepest thoughts of all of us—pacifist and nonpacifist—were expressed by Andre Trocme. This quote is not quite verbatim:

"Some sort of new dimension does present itself when the question of destroying God's creation on earth is at stake. I do agree, of course, that our emphasis must be on the revealed will of God. But our problem is not merely intellectual or ethical. It is existential. How are we to *receive* a fresh revelation of God? In order that this may occur, we must humble ourselves. The Historic Peace Churches and the IFOR cannot expect the World Council simply to take over their traditional views or formulas. What we need is the revival God will give if repentance takes place on the part of both pacifists and nonpacifists. In the Old Testament prophets, it is the *suffering* people of God who mediate his salvation to the nations. We are praying not primarily for correct statements but for deliverance from evil and death. There was a time when we could hardly believe in hell. Now hell is upon us. The deliverance is from God *through* the spectre of atomic war *to* humiliation and repentance on the part of the Church and so *back* to the revelation of God. Even in our life and message as pacifists a new dimension must appear."

The Way of Reason

. . . Some Americans, like Elmer Davis, believe that the world has already gone beyond the point of no return—that nuclear warfare cannot now be avoided, that our only hope is to make sure that we win it. But the evidence is abundant that "victory" in a nuclear war would be almost indistinguishable from defeat. We dare not accept the counsel of despair which regards such a war as inevitable.

Some Americans believe that the possession of nuclear weapons by both sides creates a balance which neither side will dare upset. The belief has much sound backing. But there is always the risk of miscalculation, of the trigger being pulled by accident. Nuclear stalemate would be safe only so long as no one were foolhardy enough to break it. We dare not stake so much on the hope that all men will be uniformly wise and prudent. . . .

—Editorial, St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Feb. 27, 1955

THE OTHER WAY

"There was no war with the Tusculans. By firm adherence to peace, they warded off the attack of Rome, which they could not have done by arms. The gates of the city lay open; provision for the (Roman) army was obligingly brought from the city and the country. . . . They obtained peace. . . . The legions were withdrawn from Tusculum."—Livy, Book vi.

It was July 1914.

The King of the Belgians sat alone in deep thought, his brow knitted with perplexity. The time was upon him when he must decide—and the fate of his nation rested upon his decision.

He knew that the German armies were preparing to enter his territory—his people were stunned at the thought of war but determined to fight.

And he himself? He, too, was ready—eager to resist the intrusion of this national enemy. He was building up a nation, in spite of the inheritance of evil which his predecessor had bequeathed to him. How could he endure now to be dictated to by the hated Prussian? Better far to die than to be bullied into dishonour. To be dominated from without meant the crucifixion of all his hopes. *That* could not be right.

And then suddenly a thought gripped him. The crucifixion of his hopes? But crucifixion did not always mean the end of all things. Once it had meant the beginning of new life. Could it be that new life—wider life—lay *that* way?

And so, slowly, the Great Idea crept into his mind. Christ had refused the world's way of resisting evil by evil, and had chosen another way—a higher way—a way that looked like defeat but in the long run had meant glorious victory. Might not crucifixion again mean conquest? Does War always bring peace—universal peace?

All of a sudden he fell on his knees and prayed in very agony of mind.

"God, show me which way!" he prayed. "Give me strength to do the right and count not the cost."

And in that moment he saw the way and knew that he must walk therein, or be for ever degraded in his own sight.

It led through shadows too deep to pierce—it lead through darkness and mists—but the end was bright with a brightness not of earth. And peace filled his soul and a great comfort.

Two men sat in Brussels, waiting for a third. They were the Premiers of France and England, summoned there by imperative request of the Belgian King, who had urged that a personal conference was a vital necessity. Both were worn by anxiety and their faces showed the torture of the experience through which they were passing.

"Well," said the Frenchman, tapping the table nervously with his pencil, "but one course is open to us—to fight—we have nothing to decide. Is it not so?"

"I see no other way," Asquith said hopelessly. "I would there were. It is appalling. . . ."

The King entered as he was speaking. His heart was so afire that his eyes blazed with strange glad light, and his guests stared in wonder and almost in awe as they rose.

"There *is* another way," he said, without preliminary greeting. "And it is the only way for a Christian nation—the resistance of evil by good and not by evil. We shall not fight."

The Frenchman fell back in amazement. "You mean—what?" he gasped. "You will suffer your country to be overrun? But it means absolute destruction—annihilation—"

"Any other course would be the absolute negation of our Christian faith," said the King, "better lose country than be false to conviction."

The Background

How would pacifists—a pacifist nation—deal with the problem of armed invasion? The question turns up at every discussion of the pacifist position, whether it is relevant to the immediate situation or not.

It is the question that is dealt with in this imaginative story, reprinted from the FOR's first magazine, **The Venturer** published in London—issue of December, 1915, when the possibility of armed invasion was most relevant.

"But—but . . . Sire—your Majesty—speak! What does it mean?"

The King drew them to the table, and they sat around it for the most momentous talk in the history of the world perhaps—save one. With the eagerness of strong faith, he expounded to them the Great Idea.

And presently the grip of the thing came upon Asquith too.... He also saw. . . . His eyes lit up with a new fire, and under the urge of a great constraint, his hand locked in the King's in a pledge of complete understanding and fellowship.

"Sire, you are right," he said slowly. "There is only one way now—for me. . . . There is glorious life ahead for a nation, that will dare. . . . I cannot speak for my friends. But I will do all in my power. It may mean personal ruin. But even that, to have a hand in leading England to her moral rebirth. . . . And you in France?"

Viviani was also deeply moved, but he still hesitated.

"It is wonderful," he said, "but . . . could men rise to it? . . . If they saw it as a religious crusade —there would be such an awakening of spiritual life as was never seen or thought of. . . . My friends, I did not see it so at first, but . . . it is a wonderful Idea. It means—the breaking of the yoke of War for ever. . . . Even if we were all to die for the Cause—but who could slay three nations?—still we should have lit a flame which would burn on till all armies and navies and hatreds were destroyed. It would mean a new earth—a new world. Yes, for me, too, it is the only way. . . ."

THE news of Belgium's decision caused a storm of protest and denunciation in France. She was accused of cowardice, of selling her soul for wordly gain and comfort—her past black history was raked over—she was held up to the scorn of the world.

But only for one day did France rage. Fear lent a sharp edge to her tongue and she raved at her determined little neighbor—for twenty-four hours. Then came a startlingly passionate speech from her Premier—a speech the fire and appeal of which carried his audience to their feet in a frenzy of enthusiasm —and in France the thing was started. The audience scattered—five thousand apostles of the Great Idea—they spread it abroad, they talked of nothing else, they wept over the greatness of it—they dedicated their lives to it, and flocked to the churches. It was, as the Premier had said, a religious awakening such as had never been seen before.

Meanwhile in England intense excitement prevailed. The papers spoke bitterly of Belgium having been bought with German gold, and of "the cowardly action of the craven little nation." When France also embraced the Great Idea, England was stunned. That France, whom she had taken to her heart and trusted for so long, should do this! It was utterly incredible. Scorn was heaped upon the "so-called religious awakening," and clamour raised for mobilization. Events were awaited with anxiety and impatience.

BELGIUM stood as firm as a rock in an angry sea; she held her head proudly and refused to bow it in shame. She was solidly united in her resolve, for her King had spoken to his people, and they had opened their hearts to the Great Idea.

The German Army passed through triumphantly and in their triumph would have made much of the people. But they stood aloof—unaggressive, unresentful—with a dignity which forced a respectful attitude upon the intruders. Uncomfortably they felt themselves to be such. But they had no fault to find with their reception and could pick no quarrel.

At St. Omer in France an indemnity was demanded, but only part of the sum was forthcoming. The Mayor, gripped by the Great Idea, delivered the money to the German Commander, and gave himself up. He was ready and willing to die, and he was shot that day—the first martyr of the new cause. St. Omer mourned him proudly. And his death fired the nation, but to prayer and not to arms.

The German army was nonplussed. This manner of war was unknown to their military code, and perplexities filled their minds. Was there some plot behind it all? Had France prepared a mighty ambush their spies had never suspected? What was this strange, strong look on the faces of the people they were trampling on? Above all, what was Britain going to do?

They penetrated warily towards Paris seizing what they required, but doing little murder or other mischief. They felt like rough men in a birth-chamber. . . .

It was a week after the news of France's acceptance of the Great Idea, before the British Government made any move. During that week, the Cabinet hardly rose, and one or other of its members was speeding between Buckingham Palace and Downing Street at all hours of the day and night.

Then came the first surprise which startled the papers and revealed that something unusual was afoot. Parliament met—in private. No reporters were admitted, and the six hundred weary men who left Westminster in the early morning after an all-night sitting merely shook their heads at importunate interviewers. They were mostly too stunned to think yet. Something had happened. . . . They had heard and felt and done something in the highest degree unusual. And the one desire of all was to get home, and think . . . and pray. . . .

The next morning a message from the Premier appeared in the Press, with special instructions that no comments on it should be published.

"It has been decided by His Majesty the King, and by the members of His Majesty's Government, and unanimously agreed to by Parliament, that England shall make no preparation for war."

This was followed by the intimation that all business would be suspended for three days. On the first day, members would address their constituents, and it was hoped that all voters would endeavour to hear them that they might understand the Government policy.

On the second day large general meetings would be held in public places. Lloyd George and others were to speak in Hyde Park at several meetings.

The third day was to be a Day of Special Intercession.

This startling announcement caused much discussion, and not a few riots. And a great sigh of relief went up when the "first day" dawned.

It passed off well. Crowds flocked to hear their members and came home impressed as much with the

startling change in the men they had known so long, as with their unprecedented announcement. Bombastic, self-satisfied plutocrats had become in a few days serious, sober, Christian politicians, with a fitting message. "No war, for we are a Christian nation—and war is against every Christian principle," such was the burden of their speech.

A few refused to rise to such heights—but they seemed to feel the tide was set against them. No leader rose amongst the malcontents—some few of England's wealthiest fumed and stormed and threatened to set sail for America. But their bluster seemed like children's selfish squabbling, and was ignored.

THE "second day" was the Great Day which changed the hesitating wondering crowds into a united people striving for a Great Idea—starting on a Great Crusade.

Lloyd George was the Isaiah of the moment. He spoke to multitudes in Hyde Park—never in a worthier cause, never with greater power. He made a passionate appeal to the deepest in man—to the best and not just to the second best, as he would have done had his aim been recruits and not righteousness. He reminded them of their father's sufferings in obedience to conscience, he told of the martyrs of the Church, and of the heroes and pioneers and pathfinders of all ages—he brought them face to face with Christ dying on the Cross.... He showed how these all cast themselves upon God in mighty faith, and how the results had ever justified their faith—that though the cause of evil had prospered, yet Right was always victorious in the end—that when Truth suffered on the scaffold, the scaffold swayed the future. . . . He argued with great force that Christianity either meant that Truth was eternally safe in God's keeping, or else it meant nothing. He urged that spiritual powers were indeed supreme—that righteousness did exalt a nation, and that therefore the righteous nation needed no defense but God, while to rely on worldly power gave no assurance of success. . . . Then he hurled at them the tremendous questions, "Can we claim this protection of God?" "Are we a righteous nation?" He turned their thoughts to the moral condition of their land—he exposed unflinchingly the horrors of the slums, the atrocities of the wage system, the ghastliness of the drink traffic, the corruptions of commerce and the brutalities of industrialism. . . . He made them feel the crisis as God's challenge, and that only in moral reformation was there any hope of real victory. "Let us confess our sins," he cried, "and endeavor to put right what is wrong. Let us set our house in order!"

THE earlier part of the speech had been punctuated by applause. But soon this ceased and gradually a great hush fell upon the mighty gathering. With solemn hearts the issue was faced. And at the close, the crowds filed quietly, quickly out of the gates.

That was the keynote of the next day's intercession. "Confess your sins and set your house in order!" The Press flashed the message all over the kingdom. "Set your house in order" was the message of every preacher in the land. "We have

sinned. Let us make amends while yet we have time."

A NEW business world met on the following morning—a world of real heart-searching, and of action as conscience prompted. Under the approaching menace, employers realized that it was human beings they employed, and not mere machines. The wealthy of the world, uncomfortable and anxious, began to manifest a desire to know how their wealth was obtained. Visits were paid to shops and factories and they were seen for the first time with the eyes of men and not of owners. Others saw the slums, the rents of which allowed them to live in luxury; they saw dying babies, diseased children, desperate women, and a great horror came upon them. They were appalled and feverishly anxious to remedy the glaring wrongs.

"WE have an enemy within our walls," said one, "more horrible than any from without can be. Here is the real war."

Some immediate changes were of course effected. Many employers voluntarily increased wages, and some landlords felt the shame of their position enough to take no rents for unhealthy dwellings, pending a real solution of the housing problem. A measure of prohibition was introduced into Parliament, and met with little opposition. Committees began to gather in every town, for the preparation of real measures of social organization. But best of all was the new spirit that was abroad—the yearning everywhere for national righteousness, the absence of antagonism to reform, and the conviction that God was calling to repentance.

AND WHAT of the rest of the world?

The neutral countries stood amazed—Belgium, France, England—all ready to be sacrificed and to die rather than stain their hands with the blood of their fellow-men! At first they were suspicious. England was clever—could there be something behind it? But as the days passed and grew into weeks it was plain that England was out for nothing but the highest.

Respect and admiration took the place of suspicion. Nay, more than respect and admiration—reverence and awe at the sight of modern nations living their creed at last.

AND the so-called enemy?

The German hordes overran Belgium and North France—they exacted indemnities and took hostages. The indemnities were paid whenever possible, the hostages gave themselves up as the martyrs of old, in defense of their cause. None of the horrors and atrocities of ordinary warfare occurred. There was no resistance, and there were no hostilities.

Then the War-Lord's eyes were turned towards Britain. The German navy sailed down the Channel unopposed—and unconquering. A few coast towns were shelled, but there was no reply. Presently transports filled with troops sailed for England and landed men near Clacton without resistance. There seemed nothing to prevent the fulfillment of the Kaiser's dream of a triumphal entry into London.

Nothing—and yet everything!

The morale of the German soldiers was shaken by the uncanny mode of warfare. War against unresisting civilians was not war, and three weeks of it unnerved the men. There was something behind

it, they said; these people must have supernatural aid when they could suffer the invasion of their fatherland so calmly. They feared the calm quiet attitude of the English more than the cannon.

They reached Colchester, were welcomed and given all needed shelter and food. And it was there that the disintegration of the German army began. The years of discipline and habit broke before the Great Idea, like ice before the sun. Some who were religiously-minded saw the greatness of this that England was doing, and flung down their arms. They were promptly shot but their death was the spark which set the whole German army ablaze. Religion—superstition—terror of the unknown—seized them, and they deserted in regiments and fled to the coast in panic.

In Germany, England's attitude, when understood, called forth instant approval from the Churches and the Socialists. They worked and labored to overthrow the militarists in their own nation. The land was seething with excitement, when the deserters came home with their tales of English courtesy and hospitality.

Then the country rose as one man in righteous indignation, and the War Lords fled before a resistless tide of popular denunciation.

The country cleared of them, a man of the people rose as a leader, and calmed the frenzied crowds. All troops were withdrawn and disbanded, and Germany, catching the phrase from her English friends, also began to "set her house in order."

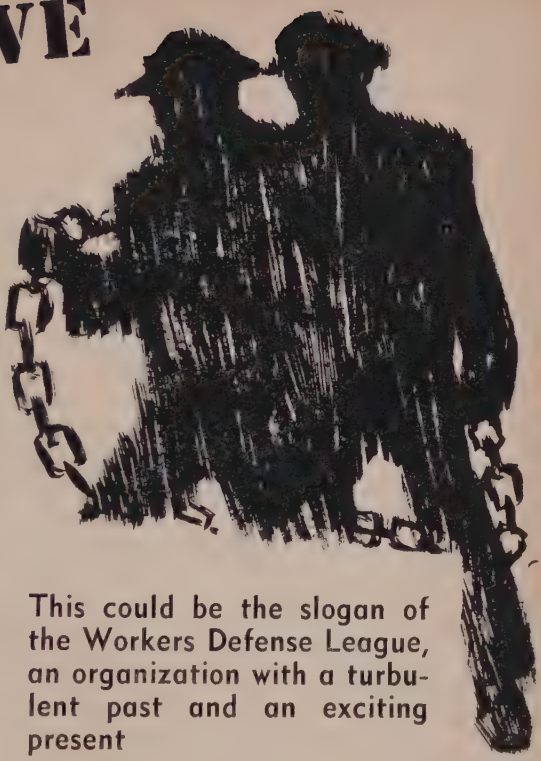
Europe was free—the world was free—from the burden and yoke of war—for ever.

Model For Saints

The moisture may be foul seepage
And the dead matter germ laden
Which surround its worldly-bound roots,
Yet the orchard tree, by His light,
Changes these to fragrant blossoms,—
Ripening into wholesome fruits.

FRANKLIN ZAHN

PRESERVE THOSE LIBERTIES



This could be the slogan of the Workers Defense League, an organization with a turbulent past and an exciting present

by Eleanor Middleton

As if he were discussing the fickle strings of democracy, Shakespeare the unquestionable sage of wit and mannerisms said:

> Take but a degree away, untwine the string
> And hark—what discord follows,
> Then everything includes itself in power,
> Power into will, will into appetite
> And appetite a universal wolf.
> Must make perforce a universal prey, and last eat up himself.[1]

This feeling that even fragmentary losses of free thought and individual rights are sauce for the wolf is one in which a legal-aid organization, called the Workers Defense League, shares in generous measure. Organized 19 years ago as a non-partisan champion of the rights of the individual, it has broadened and narrowed its scope with the times, but always within the belief that the bond between the WDL and its clients is strong and enduring and founded on the maxim that "justice" is the legal right of all, rather than the prerogative of the rich and privileged.

The WDL was, and still is, a very small operation when considered in this era of giant enterprises and

[1] As You Like It.

billboard pulpits—and upon examination of its ideals, one would feel that there is a seemingly illimitable desert between the opening of a case and its possible successful conclusion.

In these days of bonanzas, security investigations, and perpetual chimera, the WDL may be considered by "realists" as well as impatient patriots as an anachronism. But one need only venture once inside the drab grey offices of its headquarters in downtown New York City and peer inside its historic files to sense the feverish activity and pride with which its members operate.

Defense of the Weak

For the WDL has long defended the weak, the helpless, and those innocent victims of prejudices who cannot defend themselves. The customary, and very human temptation to turn one's back on "difficult" cases is rarely discussed. In fact, to the WDL it is probably unimaginable. Although anti-Communist and pro-democratic, it has fallen prey to the accusations of the bogey men and the witch hunters. Informed WDL members may talk of the apparently unending financial appeals (the perennial bugaboo of all nonprofit organizations dependent solely on contributions); the fact that its central office staff numbers only four persons; and how its lawyers are scattered all over the country. Yet the statistics are astonishing. In the past two or three years, the League lost only three cases, and it has yet to collect a legal fee!

Pioneers don't just happen. A dedicated cause must have a wellspring. In the case of the WDL it goes back to the times of vast labor upheavals, of union men being tarred and feathered in the South; of lynchings and violence against sharecroppers and tenant farmers—a far cry from the conventional picture of a nation emerging peacefully from the depths of a major depression. To those men and women who forged ahead to unite their separate activities into one single non-partisan organization devoted to "workers" defense, the scene was grim and hostile.

In the summer of 1935, a general strike in Terre Haute, Indiana, was suppressed by martial law invoked by Governor Paul McNutt. In November, Joseph Shoemaker, an organizer of Tampa, Florida, was brutally flogged to death by Klansmen and local policemen because of his militancy in behalf of labor.

In the summer of 1936, the cotton choppers of Arkansas went out on strike against virtual peonage. The strike was the signal for a campaign of terror and violence against Negro and white members of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union. It was out of these three bitter historic struggles that the WDL began—almost as if in their memory.

Clendenin and Gilmartin

The sparkplugs of the movement were two FOR members—David Clendenin and Aron Gilmartin. Clendenin, who joined the Fellowship during his college days at Yale, became one of the WDL's first national secretaries and its long-term treasurer. In memory of his long and tireless work with the organization, the WDL established the annual Clendenin award for distinguished service to labor's rights after his untimely death in

1941. Clendenin was killed in an automobile accident on his return to New York City from an FOR conference.

Early Work

Gilmartin, Unitarian minister remembered for his work with an FOR group in Fort Wayne, Indiana, says of these early days,

"The WDL at its inception represented a combination of Socialist and pacifist thinking, with an open pro-labor bias. It has never lost either in all its history."

Gilmartin also recalls that the FOR helped the WDL during those early years by "loaning out" staff leaders and the FOR mailing list. Harold Fey, long-standing FOR member, frequently sat in on those first meetings and worked on the committees which dealt with civil liberties. At the invitation of the FOR, Gilmartin wrote an article on Arkansas peonage for FELLOWSHIP magazine.

Gilmartin remembers the vibrations of that first year of work—1936, when the WDL helped convict an Arkansas planter of peonage and halted widespread flogging of unionists who took the lead in the apprehension and trial of mobsters who flogged Shoemaker.

So it began, and so it reached by 1939 into the notorious order of the Ku Klux Klan, blocking its attempt to prevent registration of Negro voters in Greenville, South Carolina. By 1940 it had obtained convictions against people accused of peonage in Georgia, and in the following year it exposed the exclusion of Negroes from jury service in New York. During World War II, it challenged the legality of army Jim crow by supporting Private Winfred Lynn in a court test and exposed peonage on a farm of the mayor of Oakland Park, Florida, where 18 women were jailed for refusal to work at substandard wages.

Against the background of the League's first steps, it is possible to understand its emergence as the only *national* organization that offered *individual* legal defense against injustice because of worker or minority status.[2]

The Present

If there are fewer stories now of the WDL's defense of the union and workers' rights, it is because this chapter has been taken over by strongly organized labor which employs its own legal staffs, and the improved mores of the public conscience. Today, it is the individual, rather than the union, who is defended by the WDL. Overnight, because the world here at home became involved in the fantastic elements of the McCarran-Walters Immigration Act, the Communist, the security risk, the League found itself swamped by cases involving innocent victims of charges and counter-charges, dwarfing all others almost to insignificance.

The visitor to the WDL office follows the lines of these cases with difficulty, often becoming oblivious to all details except the strange simplicity and tragedy of many of the circumstances.

"Tony" was a laborer in a "nonsensitive" Government department. He had few thoughts, fewer beliefs, except the respect of all Catholics for their religion, and an intense

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2 Contrary to popular opinion, the American Civil Liberties Union and NAACP do not go to court for individual legal defense. They confine their work to *legal principles* and *amicus curiae*.

desire to provide for his daughter's first communion.

Suddenly—last year—the Government suspended him from work. The charge? He had registered in the American Labor Party in 1941. If Tony felt bewildered—then a little frightened, it was because he had been cleared of these same charges in 1950. Besides, in 1941, the American Labor Party was a "legitimate" political organization boasting such famous names as Herbert Lehman and Fiorello LaGuardia! It was also suggested that Tony's sister was a Communist sympathizer. The examiner at the hearing was impatient. Why hadn't Tony tried to influence his sister away from her associations? How could the defendant say he did not know her ideas, that he had never discussed such things with her?

Moreover, he did not understand how Tony could be independent of her beliefs. He could not see the peculiar circumstances involved when a man is cut off from his family because of economic implications which force him to quit school at an early age to work to help out; a man whose one vivid memory of family life was grounded in the shame he felt when he made his first Communion in a suit given to him by a Catholic charity.

WDL Takes Case

Tony was referred to the WDL. Whatever the guilt of Tony's sister, the League argued that it had nothing to do with him. Its briefs spoke passionately of the sanctity of the home, freedom from guilt by association, protection from administrative conviction, safeguards against secret accusations and double jeopardy. After five and one half months of suspension without pay Tony went back to work.

Wanda

Recently the League took on the terrible case of Wanda Nekrasz, a brilliant young Polish student who had previously endured imprisonment at Ravensbruck and the death camp at Auswitz. Her father was murdered in the Katyn massacre. Her mother is still behind the iron curtain.

While in a DP camp in Sweden, Wanda won a scholarship to Wooster College. She entered the United States on a student visa in 1948. After two years at Wooster, she continued her studies at New York University while living at International House in New York.

It was there that the price of her endurance during the war years struck her. After a major operation, she remained in bad physical condition, and was forced to give up her studies and surrender her student visa.

The legal position of aliens in the United States, to put it mildly, fluctuates. Under the provision of the law, "no alien should be deported to a country where . . . he would be subject to physical persecution." In her case, however, the immigration authorities argued that Wanda had planned it—that she intended to stay in the United States when she entered—and that she is here illegally.

The WDL fought the case in the courts and won agreement from U.S. Immigration to defer further proceedings until Wanda had recovered her health. Unfortunately in continuing physical pain, Wanda was faced with constant threat of deportation to Poland. Yet the

WDL continues to fight every effort to send her back home—as if it felt it had every reason to believe that it will win. For in 24 such cases undertaken by the League in 1952, it won all . . . but one.

CO's Friend

The WDL has always been a friend of the conscientious objector. Its record, here, is again the same courageous battle for justice, and may well stand as another bright symbol of the hope of all those who believe that an individual is entitled to certain rights concerning God and man, irrespective of the moralities and dictates of the state.

At the end of World War II, the WDL along with other organizations asked amnesty for all COs and an end to the practice of CPS unpaid forced labor camps. In this respect it recently fought a case up the U.S. courts involving a CPS man assigned to a dairy testing association. According to Federal law, the association put the salaries the dairy testers would have earned into a frozen fund which at the end of the war totalled five million dollars. The WDL, contending that the men were legally entitled to the money, filed an individual suit in the U.S. Court of Claims in behalf of a young CO named Arthur Emery. The WDL carried the Emery case through the years up to the Court of Appeals, but finally lost. The money was turned over to the General Treasury of the United States government.

The WDL usually takes on any case involving COs. In 1946, it secured the release of Milton Kramer, a CO who fought jim crow in prison. In that same year it defended six men indicted for striking against slave labor conditions in a Big Flats, New York, CPS camp, and aided in the defense of 60 striking CPS men in California.

The big issue confronting the WDL now in its work for COs are cases dealing with local draft boards' demands that COs submit loyalty forms. The WDL stand is that legally such forms are only required at the time of induction into the armed forces. There is good reason to believe that the WDL may eventually win this battle.

The League today, like all "cause" organizations, is cut off from much of the world. For the world today is not a place for revolutionaries, advocates of political liberties, or free thinkers—and certainly, the WDL membership numbers many of these. National officers of the WDL include such FOR members as Donald Harrington (National chairman of the WDL), Reverend Aron Gilmartin, Morris Milgram, and A. J. Muste. Rowland Watts, its tall, spare, national secretary, is a non-member contributor and describes himself as a "fellow traveler" of the FOR!

Visiting the headquarters of this youthful organization, one is apt to wonder why people will dedicate themselves so exhaustingly to such a hard-chosen path. The answer, perhaps, lies in a statement made by Watts.

"I was introduced to the work of the WDL through a lawyer colleague of mine," he recalls. "I thought I would stay with it a short time and return shortly to private practice. That was about nine years ago."

When you consider the record the organization has made, I guess one can only think of it in that way.

THE OLDEST MINORITY

by Curtis Zahn

IN a weird segment of northern Arizona landscape, where nighttime retains its pre-neonic blackness, are approximately 3,000 Hopi Indians whose ancestors have compromised with the elements for approximately 2,000 years. It is a country where wind, snow, sun or drought have warped and stunted everything which has the audacity to be alive.

And to the tourist—who may suspect that the atom had its audition here—there exists the feeling that God must have passed through in a hurry, in a hermetically sealed cylinder, wearing smoked glasses. Coca Cola is almost unobtainable, Kleenex is scarce, and a majority of the tribal residents have never attended a movie theater to dwell upon the natural resources of Jane Russell. Nor have they joined the nation in rejoicing over the motherhood of Mrs. Harry James, nor have they read of Eliot, nor yet gotten together for the purpose of quietly discussing How to Combat Communism. It is an area where nature is making one of its last-ditch stands against mechanization; only in the last two decades has the Caucasian thrown up sufficient technological offenses to invade, and to establish a foothold, and to run his supply lines up close and poke deeper and deeper into its sterilizing wastes.

Around 1492, the Hopis staged their first civil war—a remarkable bloodless event where two opposing groups pushed against each other, shoulder against shoulder, until one faction had been skidded out of the village and was forced to erect a new empire 20 miles away. Coronado's men saw imposing, functional pueblos in cities such as Oraibi, built prior to 1150 —which had a population of 600 then and has the reputation of being the "oldest inhabited U.S. city." They were cities without jails, but with little crime or violence. Punishment, indeed, was confined to the expressions upon the faces of the persons around the miscreant. The criminal could choose suicide, or he could walk voluntarily into the wastes and be curled up by the elements. Either move apparently was better than continued association with the faces. Despite doorless apartments, meager rations, unguarded crops, Hopi accounts reveal the remarkable attainment of an ideology, which, to most Christians, is still theory.

Survival

But survival was a specialized technique. Rather than change surroundings, the Hopi changed himself. Where he failed environmentally, he ceased to exist or ceased to reproduce. He became today's unimposing specimen—fat, or wiry, but rarely statuesque or picturesque, perennially the antonym of Mr. Selznick's glorious Redmen. But at the same time he was an awesomely integrated bundle of self-determination and adamance. He stayed while other peoples came and went, the Spanish Conquistadors and missionaries with their sometimes cruel, totalitarian methods; roving tribes such as the Navajos, who thanks to U.S. intervention, now are rapidly multiplying on Hopi territory; early American trappers who passed through in a hurry but even so managed to write infamous history by their deeds.

Back to Stay

But, in the last fifty years—just a few moments ago by the Hopi's slowly revolving calendar, the white man came back to stay. This time, he didn't walk in carrying his civilization on his back. His invasion was calculated. In back of him lay three-lane highways, millions of dollars, refrigeration and heat and mechanical and governmental machinery. The Hopi awoke one day to find that he was "tightly encircled" just as his religious stone tablets had prophesied.

The Hopi's realization of this is comparatively recent; white men attached by strings to Washington, came in and gave orders. Repeated disobedience brought more white men who used firearms. Jails were built by the white man. Hopi who refused to be disinfected were arrested. Hopi who refused to send their children to school, or raised too many sheep, or otherwise failed to obey laws that seemed outrageous got jail or maltreatment or humiliation. Obviously, one specialized society was forcing itself upon another specialized society.

The U.S. Government's case was not without logic. Because some five-sixths of the land accorded the Hopi in 1882 has been taken over by roving Navajos, the land was over-grazed. The resultant poverty had placed the Hopi in a position of dependence, had brought

about conditions whereby he "no longer is capable of governing his own interests."

But, now, because the U.S. is seemingly unable to award the Hopi enough territory to enable him to regain his once finely balanced association with environment, the policy appears to be concentrated into rendering the Hopi per se "non existent."

Divide and Destroy

John Collier, former Commissioner of Indian affairs, said in an official address, September 1944:

". . . it is a fact that the Hopis were here first, not only were they the original owners and users of this land, but they lived here and used the land all around. It was the duty of the Government back in 1882 to have made a reservation for the Hopis big enough to live on. It had the power then. But they didn't. They were too busy looking at the Indian from another angle; they didn't want the Indian to exist."

So in spite of such warnings about the possible folly of such a government policy, the United States tried force, then bribery—using such promised dividends as livestock, uncensorship, food, and housing. Many Hopi families moved away from their ancestral home to get free housing in a former Japanese Relocation camp near the Colorado river. It seemed that a policy of "divide and destroy" was used to solve the problem.

In the past, the sole aim of the Hopi government was not to accumulate wealth, not to acquire titles, not to obtain powers, but to keep his way of life free from foreign elements so that the Hopi would not be found unfaithful in small things—so that he would not bring life to the condition which preceded the flood in the "lower world"—so taught the religion of the Hopis.

In a letter to General Hershey protesting his unwillingness to fight in a war between the United States and Germany, Dan Katchgonva, one of the co-rulers of the village of Hotevilla, Arizona, wrote on September 1, 1943:

"I am standing firmly on my tradition, acting according to the principles laid down more than a thousand years ago by exercising these powers intrusted in me as a hereditary leader of a Sun Clan. . . . I must fulfill a sacred duty . . . when the two nations began to stir up the whole world I must not go against them, neither show my bows and arrows to anyone. It is only in this way that I can ever hope to obtain peace and everlasting life with our white brother who is to come."

Disease of Materialism

The majority of the younger generation have, however, contracted what their elders would term the disease of materialism; they became automobile-happy and radio-conscious. Just as there had been inner factional splits during the Hopi's first 2,000 years, now there were occurring divisions from the result of Redman against white. Perhaps the most tragic of all is the fact that the Hopis (literally —the peaceful ones) were frightened or persuaded to participate in World War II. Although their religion taught them to be "conscientious objectors," less than a dozen draft-age men preferred prison to the armed forces at that time. The irony of this situation can be seen

in the words of Hopi Edmund Nequatewa who speaks of his son:

My boy has joined the United States Army. Before he left, I said to him, "Whatever they do to you, you will have to obey. But remember: I'm not the one who wants you to go to war. God is not the one who wants you to go to war. It is the political people. Therefore always pray and say, 'God lift this all from me . . . and if I have to be punished for what I have done, I will be willing to be punished. But at the same time, this is not my will.'"

And the rapid demise of the Hopi culture goes on.

The Discovery of Man

. . . And when all is over, when all has run its course, this mass delusion, this delight in banding into hordes, yelling in hordes, and waving flags in groups; when this modern mania for changing human baseness into goodness by lying has passed; when people have become not smarter, but tired; when all fights against fascism are over and the last libertarian emigrants have passed away—then one day it will again become very modern to be a liberal.

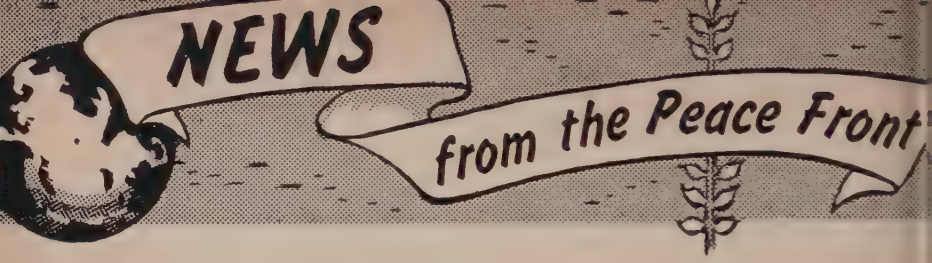
Someone will come along with a thundering discovery: he will discover the individual. He will say: "There is an organism called man, and he is the important thing. And the thing at stake is his happiness. And the goal is his freedom. Groups are something secondary; the state is something secondary. The important thing is not that the state live—it is that the individual live."

The man who will say these things will make a big splash. The people will hail his doctrine, saying: "Why, this is something brand-new! What courage! We never heard this before! A new epoch of humanity is dawning! What a genius we have among us! Forward! The new doctrine—!"

And his books will be bought, or rather those of his imitators, for the first one is always the fool.

And then this will have an effect, and a hundred thousand black, brown, and red shirts will be thrown into a corner and on the junk pile. And people will get the courage of their convictions again, without majority decisions and fear of the state which made them shut up like whipped dogs. And this is the way things will be, until one day. . . .

KURT TUCHOLSKY, excerpt
from Learn To Laugh Without Crying (1931)
(by Permission)



Charles Lawrence New FOR Chairman

Dr. Charles R. Lawrence, Jr., sociology instructor at Brooklyn College, was elected national chairman of the Fellowship of Reconciliation at the meetings of the FOR National Council in New York April 21 and 22. Dr. Lawrence succeeds Prof. John Oliver Nelson, of Yale Divinity School, who served for the past five years. Prof. Nelson was elected a vice-chairman.

The new chairman has served on the National Council for the past eight years, and has been a vice-chairman since 1952. Before he came to New York in 1947 he had served as chairman of the Southern Regional Committee and of the Nashville FOR. He is a fellow of the National Council on Religion and Higher Education, a vestryman of St. Paul's Episcopal Church in Spring Valley, N. Y. and a member of the Episcopal Pacifist Fellowship. He is an authority on family relationships and with his wife, Dr. Margaret Lawrence, a psychiatrist, has given leadership at FOR and AFSC family camps.

All other officers were continued over from the preceding year, with Herman Will, assistant director of the Methodist Board of World Peace, added to the roster of vice-chairman. The full roster includes:

Vice-chairmen: Allan Hunter, Claud Nelson, John Oliver Nelson, Arthur Swift, Herman Will; *treasurer:* S. F. Boden; *assistant treasurer:* Mrs. B. W. Hamilton.

Co-opted from the Council to the National Executive Committee were James Best, Stauffer Curry, Ruth Elsaesser, Converse Hunter and Mary Ely Lyman.

Adoption of a "calculated risk" budget for the new fiscal year, and appointment of a committee to study the organization of the FOR were the other high points of the Council meetings.

The budget, about which a report has been mailed to the entire membership, anticipates total net receipts of approximately $139,000 (including Fellowship subscriptions of $22,500), or some $19,000 higher than total receipts in 1954. To this must be added a $20,000 "operating reserve" to relieve pressure on the staff during lean months. The budget was presented by the Budget Committee for adoption on a somewhat tentative basis, with provision for review in the fall. The committee had previously initiated reductions totalling almost $20,000, and had authorized a mailing to the membership outlining the organization's problems and asking for members to vote their preference for one of three possible "solutions." Returns for the month of April showed overwhelming support for the proposal to increase contributions by approximately 50 percent. Those whose ballots had

come in and been tallied by the time of the Council meetings—about ten percent of the membership—had given and pledged slightly more than 60 percent above their own recorded contributions during 1954. Although pointing out that many more returns would be needed to give full assurance of meeting the larger budget, the Budget Committee felt that these results were encouraging enough to justify a decision to make no further cuts in the work for the present time.

Allied to the budget was the adoption of a resolution authorizing the appointment of a committee to study the regional organization pattern of the FOR and to make recommendations for any changes that seem advisable. The resolution was in response to promptings from the Far West region after the original decision to close that office had been abandoned. Representations from the region were brought to the Council by the Rev. Robert Moon, of the Bay Area (San Francisco—Berkeley), and Mrs. Fern Gage, of the Oregon Committee.

Lyle Tatum, executive secretary of the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, was named chairman of the new committee, whose membership is to include five representatives of the regions, two of whom will come from the Far West, and four from the National Council at large. Members so far appointed are Herman Will (Midwest), Alfred Fisk and Lee Lynne (Far West), Hiel Bollinger (South), Harold Ehrensberger (New England), and Forest Ashbrook and Claud Nelson (National Council). National chairman Charles Lawrence will serve ex officio as a member of the committee.

Will Not Staff New Regions

Among decisions made by the National Council in connection with the 1955-56 budget was approval of a Budget Committee recommendation that the staff be instructed not to fill vacancies in the Great Lakes and New England regions for the time being. Both regions were added to the national budget as part of the decision three years ago to expand regional work at the "grass roots" level.

The Great Lakes region (Ohio-Michigan) at the present has only an office secretary working in the regional office. The New England office is being served by Glenn Smiley, who also holds down the job of national field secretary.

The Budget Committee, expressing the hope that these posts may be filled soon, reported that it would be "irresponsible" to staff these offices now in face of the already large budget approved.

Physicist Warns of "Radioactive Fog"

In a recent *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists,* Physicist Ralph E. Lapp describes the radioactive effects of the U.S. H-bomb tests in the Pacific. He figures that a 15 megaton H-bomb exploded near the ground will affect an area of 4000 square miles with so much radioactivity that all people in it will get a "serios to lethal dose" in the first day alone. Unless they evacuate immediately, the results are even more chilling. The explosion of 50 super-bombs could shroud all Northeastern United States "in a serios to lethal radioactive fog."

Report China Famine Worsening

Sixty thousand Chinese peasants are being moved to reclamation projects in Inner Mongolia and Manchuria, according to a Hsinhua (New China) news agency dispatch reported in the May 15 New York Times. *The move is apparently a government-sponsored attempt to cope with large-scale flights of peasants from famine-stricken areas to the cities, as reported in the Kwang Ming Daily of Peiping, which on May 6 explained the rural "difficulties" as due to last year's record-breaking floods.*

"Red China in Grip of Spring Famine" headlined a story in the April 24 issue of the *New York Times,* reporting that accounts of great hunger were filtering out from the mainland to Hong Kong. The famine is "worse than usual," for a variety of reasons, says the *Times,* but "notably the disastrous floods of last summer."

A Canadian missionary recently returned from Shanghai reports that people in that area are eating grass. Other accounts indicated that vegetable oils are being rationed at the rate of two to three ounces per person monthly.

These reports confirm stories the FOR has had from private sources in Asia, and also the estimate that the flood-induced famine would not reach its worst stages until several months after the floods themselves.

The FOR-sponsored surplus-food-for-China campaign continues to bring pressure on the government, through letters and the mailing of little bags of grain, to offer some of this country's enormous stocks of surplus food to China, but the government continues to refuse. Reasons for this refusal offered by Harold Stassen and officials of the State Department are (1) the extent of the suffering is not known, (2) the Chinese government turned down offers of aid, and (3) the Chinese government is shipping food to the Soviet Union in exchange for industrial materials even while its people are hungry.

Church groups and other sponsors of the campaign have called these answers inadequate. They point out that if private groups are able to get reports on the extent of the famine, the government's intelligence services certainly ought to be able to do at least as well. One correspondent wondered how the government could be so sure that China was shipping food to Russia if it was unable to find out whether a food shortage exists. Offers of aid, these groups remind the government, were made last summer, while the floods were in progress, and while the Chinese government was still minimizing their extent. The offers have not been repeated since, so far as is known.

Muste Pamphlet Burned in Boston

The possibility that 1000 copies of A. J. Muste's *Camp of Liberation* were burned in Boston was confirmed recently in a letter received here from William O'Brien, Asst. Solicitor of the Fraud and Mailability Division of the Federal Post Office. According to O'Brien, the booklets were classified as "nonmailable" propaganda (Section 124.71, U.S. Code 1717), and were seized and presumably burned.

Failure of the pamphlets, shipped from England last November, to arrive at the Friends Office in Cambridge, Massachusetts, initiated an investigation which revealed

that customs agents annually burn millions of dollars worth of overseas mail addressed to New Englanders. Specially trained men label each mail sack. Thomas F. Downey of the *Boston Post* reports that their unit operates "like a secret service branch."

The action against the Muste pamphlet aroused Murray Kempton, *New York Post* columnist to charge in a recent editorial that "Camp of Liberation," a plea for non-violent resistance by citizens of occupied territories," was not only anti-Communist but showed a definite distaste for communism and communist totalitarianism.

U.S. Taxes for Armaments? FOR Member Says "No!"

Eunice Goodfellow, a young Middlebury graduate and former secretary to Nevin Sayre, has joined the ranks of those refusing to pay taxes for military spending.

In January, Miss Goodfellow, who taught English in Ceylon before joining the IFOR staff, asked for a nominal salary of $55.98 a month. In order that she would earn less than her yearly $600 tax free exemption, she then left the IFOR in April to explore the possibilities of living in a cooperative community where "the members raise most of their own food, make their own clothing and shelter, and in which work is the medium of exchange instead of money."

In a letter addressed to the Bureau of Internal Revenue, she explained, "I became convinced that it is wrong for me to pay taxes to make possible the building of bombs and bombers, since my conscience as a Christian forbids me to participate in making such weapons of destruction."

Conference Program Nears Completion

New details on the FOR's National Conference, September 2 to 4 at Camp Alexander Mack, Milford, Indiana, have been released by Glenn Smiley, National Field Secretary.

So far, Paul Sekiya, Harold Ehrensperger, and Dan West have accepted invitations to speak at the conference. Sekiya, chairman of the Japanese FOR, is presently touring this country. Ehrensperger, former editor of *Motive,* magazine of the Methodist Student Movement is professor of religious drama at Boston University School of Theology. West has been active in the social education field for the Church of the Brethren.

The conference will have accommodations for about 400, with reservations being made through national FOR headquarters. The charge for dormitory rooms and meals is $2.75 per day. In addition, there is a $3.00 registration fee for adults and a $2.00 fee for students payable in advance at the time of making a reservation. Children aged one to three will receive free room and board. Children from 3 to 9 years old pay half price. Activities include group discussions, an audio-visual aid program, recreation, swimming, boating, and other sports.

Two other conferences will precede the opening program Friday evening, September 2. Scheduled from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m., September 2, is a Youth Conference which will look at the possible stepping up of pacifist youth programs. From August 30 to September 2, A. J. Muste and a family-life specialist will lead a FOR Family Conference, a "new and exciting FOR venture.".

Civil Liberties Conference Scores "Silenced"

The right of California students to academic freedom was argued in a two-day state-wide student Civil Liberties Conference.

Initial work on the conference was pushed through by the Youth Section of the California FOR, the Student ACLU at Berkeley, and the YM-YWCA's. Sponsors included Paul Hoffman, Robert M. Hutchins, Allan Hunter, Hallock Hoffman, and Wilson Riles.

Work of the "Prophet" Asked by Abbe Pierre

During the bitter freeze of February, 1954, 17 Parisians were found frozen to death and the scandal of the lack of housing for the poor in France exploded. Abbe Pierre, then a virtually unknown priest, challenged the minister of reconstruction to attend the funeral of a newborn infant who had died of exposure. Incredibly, the minister accepted bringing with him "the repentance of France." Paris and the world became aware overnight of this man and his Companions of Emmaus who searched the dump heaps and garbage cans converting the discarded materials into salable goods to provide homes for the poor.

Speaking at New York City's Town Hall in a meeting sponsored by an inter-creedal committee including the FOR, the French priest spoke movingly of the role of the "prophet" in society. He encouraged Americans to find their own prophets and rise up to meet the different social problems in the U.S.

During his three weeks' visit, the priest went from East to West, conferring with officials of the U.N. specialized agencies and officers of national, civic and volunteer welfare agencies.

German Youth Split On Military Service

The majority of West German youth between 15 and 24 years of age don't want to be soldiers. According to recent statistics issued by the German Social Democratic Party, more than two-thirds of the young men polled were opposed to military service.

Indications that German rearmament might meet tough sledding continued to grow as opposition mounted among trade unionists and church circles. An official resolution of the German trade unions warns that the rebirth of a German army constitutes a danger "that a militaristic authoritarian state will thereby be created which would mean the end of the effort of the German labor movement to create a political, social, and economic democracy." This resolution was adopted by 287 votes to 4.

Last January, at a demonstration in the Church of St. Paul in Frankfurt, a manifesto was approved by over a thousand representatives from academic institutions, churches and public life which said in part, "The establishment of military forces in the Federal Republic and in the Soviet-occupied zone must wipe out any chance of restoring German unity. . . . Measures of this kind would add intolerably to the burden on the consciences of a large section of our people."

No Catholic CO's in Italy?

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I happened to discover in Michael Harrington's article in the June 1954 FELLOWSHIP (p. 9) the misleading statement that the auxiliary Bishop of Lyon, Msgr. Ancel, wrote that if the United States should attack Russia, civil disobedience would be the obligation of the Catholic. He ought to have added that the Bishop's statement was immediately disowned by the Vatican, and that the Catholic Church orders obedience to authorities "in power." Moreover, the Church says that when a country is at war its citizens must submit to obligations derived from this condition, e.g., "whatever the nature of the war," they (the citizens) "have the duty to defend" their country.

As a matter of fact, the distinction drawn between "just" and "unjust" war as stated by the Pope in his Christmas appeal leaves the question of individual Catholic duty in regard to war and military service at a stalemate. The official religious Catholic instruction in all elementary and secondary schools has not greatly changed the situation. An example is the CO in Italy.

The six CO's whom I know to have been sentenced by tribunals in Italy within the last year (others have not yet been listed) were all Jehovah's Witnesses. Not one of approximately 26 CO's sentenced here in the last six years for refusing military service or for propagandizing against war claimed conscientious objection because of Catholic instruction or education!

May I also mention that the case of Msgr. Ancel and the problem of CO's in Latin countries is dealt with in my last volume *For the Abolition of War* (in Italian) on p. 95 and in Chapter III. I would be glad to send copies of it to any readers at a cost of 80 cents a copy.

GIOVANNI PIOLI
Milan Italy

Witches' Brew

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

There would be no wars if people would heed the injunction of Jesus *"to resist the devil and he will flee from you."* Wars are born of a hysterical frenzy, such as that used by witch doctors. This power that is called into being is devil worship. Whenever I hear an anti-communist sermon from any pulpit, or read a hate-filled article in the newspapers, or listen to half-truths and twisted reporting over the radio, I realize that these people are calling on this cruel unreasoning frenzy, which leads to the human sacrifice of war.

Whenever war is in progress there is a set story designed to show our side as blameless. Implicit belief in this story is demanded, and any attempt to question its authenticity is condemned as traitorous. At this time, unreasoning mob fury is passed off as patriotism.

If Christians resist this evil wherever they find it, we shall be able to break its power in our midst, and enthrone in its place the love and forbearance which is our Christian heritage.

ZELA PARGEON
Astoria, Oregon

Natural Needs

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Answering Trevor Robinson of Ithaca, N. Y., regarding his concern with what he calls "food faddists", please let me ask him whether we are faddists if we object to the following:

1) Refining sugar, rice, wheat flour and some other things, thus depriving them of some important nutritive value;
2) Spraying fruits and vegetables with poisonous sprays, which find their way into our system;
3) Treating foods with preservatives such as benzoate of soda, propyl gallate and citric acid.

Does he admit that our diet is influenced more by our exaggerated taste for sweets and by the looks of things than by our natural needs? and that many of our ailments are the consequence of our faulty food habits and the lack of proper protective foods?

Sincerely,
ADELE WEHMEYER
Clinton Corners, N. Y.

Our Mortal Enemy

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

If we cannot establish a better world in this generation, must we give up all hope? What about future generations? What about the creative geniuses, outside the realm of politics, who may yet walk upon the earth and make the human race proud and unafraid once again? What about the giants of the past who once lived among men—the great composers, poets, writers and thinkers? Shall we, with one stroke, destroy their immortal works instead of leaving them here, just as we received them but once touched by us? These are the things that make life worth living. It may be a tragedy that the life and romance of mankind mean so little to those who accuse peacemakers as being "appeasers." What do these enemies of man know about freedom? They cry for death.

The time has come when we must take a stand against our mortal enemy—war itself. Some day, in the near future, if we do not commit the blunder that will deny us distant futures, it is going to take courage for anyone to tell his fellow citizens that the honor of the U.S. calls for the crucifixion of mankind. Today such lunatics are a dying majority, and we who oppose them are on the defensive. But tomorrow, if we win the race against time, they will be a dying minority.

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